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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

Washington, D.C. 20520

REVIEWED BY BZF DATE 1/24/89

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FOI EXEMPTION CODE 100-1000000000

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANK C. CARLUCCI  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Public Diplomacy Action Plans

As requested by the NSC in its memorandum of April 27, we are submitting the proposed public diplomacy action plans for Central America, Afghanistan and South Africa. We are also, submitting action plans on the Philippines and the Foreign Affairs Budget. Copies of all of these papers have been sent separately to USIA, DOD and AID.

Separately, we will forward the names of participants in the May 12 meeting convened to consider the various action plans.

Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Central America Public Diplomacy Action Plan
2. South Africa Public Diplomacy Action Plan
3. Afghanistan Public Diplomacy Action Plan
4. Phillippine Public Diplomacy Action Plan
5. Public Affairs Foreign Affairs Budget Plan

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## AFGHANISTAN: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN

I. Purpose: Our strategy must be a comprehensive one addressing the concerns of three distinct audiences:

- International public opinion
- Domestic U.S. opinion and Congress
- Afghans: resistance, refugees, population inside Afghanistan

The thrust of our public diplomacy strategy is twofold: (a) to keep the war in the forefront of world and domestic public consciousness; and (b) to counter the current Soviet political offensive which offers cleverly packaged promises of a settlement which places a Soviet-dictated political solution in Kabul ("national reconciliation") ahead of the key issue of troop withdrawal. Our public diplomacy efforts are one element in our overall policy of increasing the political, military and economic costs to the Soviets of their occupation of Afghanistan. We attach paramount importance to maintaining the issue in the context of an East-South (i.e., USSR vs Third World) rather than an East-West confrontation and on involving other governments to the greatest possible extent in supporting the Afghan people's cause.

## II. Background

In recent months, Moscow has launched a "peace offensive" which on the surface appears flexible and which has made some inroads in international governmental and public opinion, particularly in the Third World. The effort comprises: a) a "national reconciliation" policy which entails grafting selected non-communist elements, including some refugee and resistance representatives, onto the current communist regime headed by Najib; b) a six-month cease-fire and amnesty announced by Kabul in January but quickly rejected by the mujahidin; and c) a shorter (18-month) withdrawal timeframe offered at the Geneva proximity talks.

While the "peace offensive" is the carrot of the Soviet strategy, the stick takes the form of increased border attacks and subversion against Pakistan. This pressure seeks to move Islamabad toward a more accommodating stance vis-a-vis Moscow. The Soviets push the line that the U.S. is restraining Pakistan from accepting Moscow's proposals as part of a USG policy to entangle the Soviet Union in an unending guerrilla war. Our public diplomacy efforts to counter this Soviet strategy are largely carried out in the often uncertain and shifting turf of Third World public opinion.

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Support for the policy of increasing political and military pressure on the Soviets to withdraw promptly is strongest in the West and the Islamic world. This policy currently also enjoys more or less passive support among a large majority of Third World states, as manifested in the annual UNGA vote on Afghanistan. Our public diplomacy seeks to maintain a high level of publicity on the war. We aim to keep public attention focused on the central issue of Soviet aggression and the need for the Soviets to commit themselves to a prompt and complete withdrawal from Afghanistan. We consult closely with Pakistan on our public diplomacy plans and encourage other governments to become more active. The best public diplomacy, of course, emanates from the resistance itself. A major focus of our efforts is to enhance the resistance's capabilities in this area. Our purpose, again, is to avoid a public perception of the war as being an East-West conflict through proxies.

Domestically, our policy enjoys strong public and bipartisan Congressional support. Our objective is to encourage greater media coverage of the war and support for Pakistan. We also seek greater involvement of the private sector in the U.S. and abroad in support of various elements of our Afghanistan policy.

III. Key Issues

The activities outlined in section IV below are aimed at furthering the following key foreign policy objectives:

--Pressuring Moscow into a comprehensive political settlement by raising the costs of their occupation of Afghanistan.

--Promoting the Afghan resistance Alliance as an effective political front.

--Providing assistance to the Afghan refugees and to free Afghans remaining inside their own country.

--Encouraging more active international support for Pakistan and the Afghan resistance, including provision of humanitarian support.

--Increasing international public awareness of the war and support for a free Afghanistan.

--Continuing support for the UN negotiating track, with Pakistan in the lead.

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#### IV. Activities and Measures

##### PUBLIC AFFAIRS

We run the risk of foreign and domestic publics becoming inured to the eight-year-old struggle in Afghanistan. The war could come to be seen as just another ongoing Third World conflict which makes an occasional splash in the media but which is otherwise relegated to the backburner of world events. Our task is to encourage a high and steady level of publicity on the war, underscoring the strategic stakes as well as the human rights dimensions of the problem. This effort serves our objective of increasing the political price Moscow must pay for its Afghanistan policy.

To this end, our public affairs strategy contains the following elements:

Interagency Working Group: The Interagency Working Group on Afghanistan Strategy (State, USIA, NSC, AID, DOD) coordinates government-wide efforts to maximize media coverage of the war and publicity favorable to the resistance.

Public Themes: The Working Group recently produced the first in a series of "Public Themes on Afghanistan." The first edition summarizes U.S. policy on the issue. USIA will incorporate the Public Themes in its regular programming. State will arrange wide dissemination of the Public Themes domestically via the State Department GIST handout and the speaker program. State and USIA sent the Public Themes to all posts with instructions to draw on them in their dealings with host country officials, academics, journalists, civic groups, etc. Subsequent editions will focus on other aspects of the problem, such as Soviet policy and human rights abuses.

Worldnet: A number of senior USG officials, including Assistant Secretary Murphy and Under Secretary Armacost, have already appeared on Worldnet interactives to address the issue of Afghanistan. Following his trip to Afghanistan, Senator Gordon Humphrey was interviewed on Worldnet's "America Today" newscast to Europe. USIA will continue to look for appropriate speakers to address audiences abroad via Worldnet interactives.

Afghan Media Project: This project trains Afghans in journalistic skills with the goal of getting more film footage and other first-hand information on the war out of Afghanistan for distribution abroad. (See "USIS Afghan Country Program" for more detail).

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VOA: In addition to the two Afghanistan services, VOA's news room also provides news on Afghanistan to all 43 language services, thus, reaching the Arab world, Asia, Europe, the USSR, China, and much of Africa and Latin America. Emphasis is placed on Urdu and Soviet programming. Russian broadcasts reach the 120,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Sitrep Briefings: The briefings continue to attract broad attention among a wide range of foreign and U.S. journalists.

Speakers: Afghanistan specialists at State give occasional presentations on the war and U.S. policy before academic and civic groups. Afghanistan is one of the core themes used in State's more general speaker program.

CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

Our Afghanistan policy enjoys strong bipartisan support in Congress. A number of legislators take a very strong and personal interest in the cause of the Afghan freedom fighters. We seek to keep Congress informed of latest developments in the war and to involve members in efforts to generate support for the Afghan people.

The following are ongoing and planned activities in which Congressional involvement is extensive:

McCollum Program: As part of the humanitarian relief program sponsored by Congressman Bill McCollum, the USG (DoD) provides aircraft to fly humanitarian supplies to Pakistan for war-affected Afghans and to evacuate war-wounded Afghans for treatment in hospitals in Europe, the U.S. and elsewhere. State will query receiving governments on whether they would be agreeable to increased publicity of their role in this program.

Parliamentarians Conference: USIA is leading preparations for a conference of parliamentarians from select Western and Islamic states with the objective of drawing up an agenda of action items which the parliamentarians can take back to their respective legislatures. The conference, to take place in Europe, does not yet have a fixed locale or date. USIA is working with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation on the possibility of holding the conference in West Germany. France is an alternate possibility. Several U.S. legislators have expressed a strong interest in participating.

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Worldnet: USIA plans to ask U.S. legislators from both political parties to discuss the war in Afghanistan in appearances on Worldnet.

Congressional Afghanistan Task Force: State provides informal briefings for the group on border raids, refugees, the aid program, etc.

### PRIVATE SECTOR

Numerous private interest groups and foundations take an active role in generating public interest in and support for the Afghan resistance and refugees. The USG works closely with these groups. We seek over the next several months to involve a number of prominent corporation and foundation executives and others in activities supportive of the resistance and the refugees.

Our private sector strategy encompasses the following activities:

Afghanistan Seminar: State and USIA are exploring the possibility of organizing a State-hosted seminar for prominent Americans aimed at raising private sector funds for Afghan educational programs. We will target corporations and foundations and encourage them to provide university scholarships and training opportunities in Pakistan, the U.S. and elsewhere for young Afghans.

Benefit Gala: Attempts are being made, under the direction of USIA's Director of Private Sector Committees, to identify private individuals who might be encouraged to sponsor a benefit gala to raise funds for the treatment of Afghan children wounded in the war and to draw attention to the human tragedy of the war.

Impact of the War on Afghan Women: State is working with private groups active on Afghanistan (Freedom House and the Afghan-Resistance Relief Center) to disseminate news articles which address how the war has affected Afghan women's lives and families.

### THIRD WORLD

We need to concentrate more in the coming months on efforts to expand public interest in the Afghanistan war in the Third World, where the Soviets have the most potential to make headway with their so-called "peace offensive."

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Initially, we plan the following effort to complement ongoing (mainly USIA) programs:

Third World Media: USIA is exploring ways to generate more publicity on the war in usually low-interest areas such as Africa and Latin America.

AID PROGRAM

An important element of the Administration's Afghanistan policy is to increase humanitarian and other support to the Afghan people, i.e., those inside Afghanistan as well as the resistance and the refugees in Pakistan. The goal is to prevent depopulation of the Afghan countryside and to strengthen the administrative capabilities of the Alliance which administers the various aid programs inside Afghanistan. Again, by sustaining the Afghan people, who support the resistance, we exact costs on the Soviet occupation.

Pertinent aspects of the aid program include the following:

International Support for the Resistance: State is approaching friendly governments to urge them to increase their humanitarian support to and political dialogue with the resistance Alliance. In this regard, State has prepared a paper to use with these governments outlining what the USG is doing and what more they could do. If enough interest is stimulated, a donors' conference to work out details concerning funding, sectors of interest, and implementation could materialize. State and AID would help coordinate participation and venue.

Aid Program: Since its inception in 1985, the AID program for war-affected Afghans has been allocated some \$65 million for agriculture, health, food aid, commodities support, and education. The Alliance education project is a significant component of the program and figures prominently in our public diplomacy efforts. It funds literacy activities, the printing of textbooks, training of teachers and operating of schools inside Afghanistan. Some 8,000 students currently participate in the literacy program, with another 8,000 scheduled for 1988. Under the project, 1,300 elementary schools will be opened inside Afghanistan by the end of 1987 to complement an estimated 200 schools already supported by PVOs. Some 120,000 textbooks have been printed for these schools. Additionally, over 130 teacher trainers and 700 teachers will be trained by 1988, and a limited number of scholarships for advanced education and technical training are envisioned. This project receives technical support from the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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USIS AFGHAN COUNTRY PROGRAM

Concerned with the need to maintain links with the present leaders of free Afghanistan and to develop ties with the next generation, USIA has recently established a USIS Country Program for Afghans currently living in Pakistan. Through a variety of programs, USIS strives to prepare younger Afghans for future leadership roles, and in the process, foster in them a positive attitude toward the U.S. The initial program includes the following:

The Afghan Media Project: Under a grant from USIA, Boston University is engaged in a Peshawar-based project to train Afghans in filming and basic journalistic skills and to set up a system for wide distribution of Afghan-produced news and film footage of the war. The first group of 35 Afghans has already completed training; another 35 are now undergoing training. Boston University reports three teams from the first group of trainees went into Afghanistan several weeks ago. Film footage produced by these teams is being readied for distribution. Eight more teams will soon go in.

VOA: Dari and Pashtu language services were established in the early 1980s, shortly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Each currently broadcasts two hours daily. Dari is understood by 60 percent to 85 percent of Afghanistan's population; it also reaches Dari speakers in the Soviet Union, Pakistan and Iran. Pashtu reaches some 18 million Pashtu speakers, mostly in Pakistan, including three to four million refugees and their mujahidin leaders. The two services concentrate on news about the war in Afghanistan, U.S. and other governments' policies concerning Afghanistan, and news about the U.S.

English Teaching: USIA has given grants to the International Rescue Committee (IRC) for its English teaching effort based in Peshawar. The courses include both general English and a specialized course for those involved in the media.

International Visitor (IV) Grants: USIS Islamabad is in the process of setting up the first Afghan IV grants. The post plans to send to the U.S. a group of resistance Alliance-affiliated Afghans who are engaged in information work. During their visit they will meet with U.S. media, academic, and government representatives; observe American news reporting techniques; and have opportunities to share their knowledge and insight on the situation in Afghanistan.

Student Exchange: USIA is establishing a Fulbright Program for Afghans. A small number of grants will be administered before the end of FY 1987. The program will be expanded in FY 1988.



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Book Program: The first product of this program will be Dari and Pashtu translations of the Helsinki Watch booklet "To Win the War: Afghanistan's Other War." USIS Peshawar is also developing a special reference section on Afghanistan and U.S. policy which will serve both the Afghan community and foreign journalists and academics concerned with the war.

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